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Literacy and Census: The Case of Banat Bulgarians, 1890–1910

Literacy is a dynamic category that changes over time. The understanding of writing has gradually been expanding while its public significance has been increasing. The transition to widespread literacy was performed from the 17th to the 19th centuries and was connected with the rise of the bourgeoisie, with the development of services and technology that generated economic demand for literate workers. This transition was a slow and gradual process and developed at different rates in different geographical regions, but from a global point of view it was marked by unprecedented social transformation: while in the mid-19th century only 10% of the adult population of the world could read and write, in the 21st century – despite the five-fold increase in population – 80% have basic literacy.¹ In recent decades this transformation has caused a considerable research interest in the history of literacy and the process of overcoming illiteracy.

On the Subject of Research

Herein, with respect to the spread of literacy in Austria–Hungary are studied the Banat Bulgarians, who are Western Rite Catholics. In 1890 they numbered 14 801 people. At that time the Banat Bulgarians had already been settled in the Habsburg Empire for a century and a half. They were refugees from the district of Chiprovtsi town (Northwestern Bulgaria) who had left Bulgarian lands after the unsuccessful anti-Ottoman uprising of 1688. Passing through Wallachia and Southwest Transylvania (the latter under Austrian rule) in the

¹ Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2006. Chapter 8. The Making of Literate Societies.

www.unesco.org/education/GMR2006/full/chapt8_eng.pdf, 189. (cit. 2016.03.01.)

1730s together with Bulgarian Paulicians² they moved to the region of Banat that had been devastated and depopulated during the Ottoman rule and after that fell under Austrian rule. There they were given new places to settle permanently. Thus in 1738 Paulicians founded the village of Star Beshenov (today Dudești Vechi, Romania) and in 1741 the people from Chiprovtsi and a part of Paulicians founded the privileged town of Vinga (today in Romania).

In the second half of the 19th century (after the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848-49 and the abolition of serfdom) Banat Bulgarians developed as a rural community. Only Vinga had the status of a town – till the early 1890s. In our case this fact is important as far as rural population is characterized by a lower literacy level than urban one – generally.

When studying literacy it should be taken into consideration that its previous levels affect the next ones as literate parents seek to educate their children. In this sense, the tradition of education has relevance to the level of literacy or illiteracy. Banat Bulgarians carried from their homeland Bulgaria centuries of Franciscan educational tradition, which originally developed in connection with the distribution and promotion of Catholicism and even then followed the principle of mandatory primary education.

The Banat-Bulgarian literary revival began in the mid-19th century, a few years before the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise (1867). Until then at Banat Bulgarian schools either German or “Illyrian” (Croatian) textbooks based Bulgarian was taught. In Bulgarian churches they preached in “Illyrian” language.³ Banat Bulgarians were exposed to strong Orthodox propaganda on behalf of their neighbors, the Serbs because of their linguistic closeness. After Banat was again given back to Hungary (1860) and governed by Hungarian authorities, in order to neutralize the growing Croatian and Serbian influence over Banat Bulgarians and to oppose the strong Pan-Slavic (i.e. “Illyrian”) movement, and to keep their national and religious spirit, Hungarian Catholic clergy decided to support their initiative to allow the Bulgarian language in schools and churches and to establish Bulgarian literature.⁴ The newly founded Banat Bulgarian literary language was written in Latin, not in Cyrillic.

² Paulicians were also Catholics coming from the Danube villages of Oresh, Belene, Tranchovitsa and Petokladentsi.

³ Милетич, Л. Книжнината и езикът на банатските българи. – В: Изследвания за българите в Седмиградско и Банат. Съст. Рунтова, М. С., 1987, 488.

⁴ Ibid., 493.

At first glance the chronological limits of the present study are determined by the timing of sources, that is the decades between 1890 and 1910. In a broader sense the lower chronological limit of the investigation among Banat Bulgarians is determined by the proportion of literates among the oldest group recorded in the first census (i.e. over 60-year olds), who started learning to read and write in the 1830s. In fact literacy, which was fixed in the analyzed three censuses, represented population's ability to read and write, that had been accumulated in the previous (up to the relevant census) decades. In other words censuses reflected this process among Banat Bulgarians for almost the whole 19th century and the first decade of 20th century. Learning to read and write continued (as far as it was possible) during their exodus from Transylvania to Banat, and then, after their final settlement there – the process went on under low mobility.

On the Features of Censuses and Data

Bearing in mind the specifics of the censuses as historical sources, in this study we accept mother tongue as a marker of ethnicity, though its conventionality is apparent.

In Hungarian censuses Banat Bulgarians – living in Temes and Torontál Counties – can be identified through the data on Bulgarian mother tongue correlated to Western rite Catholicism. Being also Catholics several thousand Krashovans predominantly populating the third county in Banat – Krassó-Szörény –, were added to the Bulgarians in the Hungarian statistics; they appeared together in a column entitled “mother tongue Bulgarian, Krashovan”. The reason for such an approach should be sought in the fact that at the time among scholars in Austria-Hungary the opinion of Krashovans' Bulgarian ethnic origin prevailed. Krashovans, experienced strong Croatian influence, but still in the 18th century identified themselves as Krashovans (named after Karas river, on whose banks were their settlements). Therefore, in the study we do not take into account the Krashovans – they have been deducted from the total number of Bulgarians in Austria-Hungary using the data from the primary tables for literacy where they were specifically noted.

In censuses – either in the Hungarian, or in the Bulgarian ones – the question of literacy is not asked with a view of the language in which one can or

cannot read and write, but in general whether one can read and write in any language. The question of the ability to read and write was included even in the first modern Hungarian censuses of 1870 and 1880, but there was no literacy data correlated to the indicator of mother tongue (Bulgarian). For the Eastern part of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire we have literacy data correlated to Bulgarian mother tongue from 1890, 1900 and 1910. Literacy data from 1890 referred to Temes and Torontál counties and were correlated with mother tongue and age. In 1900 census data on literacy were detailed by confession too, and those of 1910 – by education level.⁵

In Temes and Torontál counties within the Bulgarian mother tongue population only a small number of migrants coming from Bulgaria was found beyond local Banat Bulgarians. In principle, the former can be distinguished by their Bulgarian citizenship, by their belonging to the Eastern Orthodox Church and by the presence of a very small number of women. At the end of the 19th century the proportion of Orthodox Bulgarians for both counties was below 1%, in 1910 it was 1,5%. Through literacy data Banat Bulgarians cannot be separated from migrants coming from Bulgaria, because they were presented only by Bulgarian mother tongue, but not by religious affiliation. Since the proportion of migrants flowing into these two counties from Bulgaria was small, their influence was insignificant and it can be assumed that the data reliably outline the Banat Bulgarians' profile by literacy.

In the Hungarian censuses of 1890, 1900 and 1910 literacy level was measured in three categories – literates (who had the ability to read and write, regardless of school education), semi-literates (who could only read, but not write) and illiterates (who could neither read nor write). Semi-literates were presented in a separate group in accordance with the realities of the epoch. Semi-literateness was characteristic for women. In the particular case of Hungarian censuses the reason for its fixing was that during the period the perception of writing as a man's job was widespread among Hungarian peasantry. For the woman it was enough to be able to read the Bible or the prayer book. That is why girls attended school less; there they learned to read, but not write well, and then did not practice writing and quickly forgot what they had learned.⁶

⁵ Thirring L.: *Az 1869-1890. évi népszámlálások története és jellemzői*. I. rész. Budapest 1983, 54., 84., 123.

⁶ Tóth I. Gy.: *Mivelhogy magad írást nem tudsz...* Az írás térhódítása a művelődésben a kora újkori Magyarországon. Budapest 1996, 235.

In practice (with rare exceptions) in the examined Hungarian censuses all those were considered literates who had completed at least one grade of elementary school, even if they did not use or had already forgotten that knowledge – because of illness or due to aging. In Hungary illiteracy was examined for the population over the age of 6 since compulsory elementary education was introduced in Hungary for 6-12-year old boys; population under this age was a priori considered illiterate; and literacy of first grade children was recorded as declared by them in Questionnaires.⁷

Literacy, Sex and Age

Sex is a crucial factor in the structuring of literacy and most clearly contributes to illiteracy. Women dominated among illiterates, which was one of the important factors for their disadvantaged position in society, reflecting sex inequalities as it concerned education opportunities in the 19th century. When examining the historical aspects of literacy the discovery of sex imbalance is a common phenomenon. Due to migrations and regional effects the level of this imbalance is different⁸.

Table 1.
*Literates among Bulgarian (mother tongue) population over age 6,
in Temes and Torontál counties, by sex, in %, 1890 and 1910.⁹*

Literacy (%)	Men			Women		
	Literates	Semi-literates	Illiterates	Literates	Semi-literates	Illiterates
1890						
<i>County</i>						
Temes	66,3	0,9	32,8	52,7	3,1	44,2
Torontál	62,4	0,3	37,3	44,6	3,4	51,9
1910						
Temes	80,5	0,7	18,8	72,0	4,0	24,0
Torontál	76,0	0,6	23,4	62,4	5,1	32,5

⁷ T. Kiss T.: Az analfabetizmus. A dualizmuskori Magyarország kulturális/politikai problémája. In: *Kultúrkapuk. Tanulmányok a kultúr[politik]áról, az értékközvetítésről és a kulturális valóságról*. Szerk. T. Kiss T., Tibori T. Szeged, 2013, 13.

⁸ Lockridge, K. A. *Literacy in Colonial New England*. New York, 1974; Stone, L. *Literacy and Education in England, 1640-1900*. *Past and Present* 42 (1969), 69–139.

⁹ Hungarian State Archives (further MNL OL), KSH-XXXII-23-h.

When comparing data on both sexes, an overview on the Banat Bulgarians' literacy shows that, it did not go beyond the typical characteristics: it was better for men than for women and semi-literates were more in the variation of women – both trends emerge clearly on both, county- (Table 1) and village-levels (Table 3). The trend for the entire period was towards the increase of literacy and respectively towards the reduction of illiteracy in both counties and within both sexes, while differences between sexes were gradually melting away.

Within Bulgarian population at compulsory school attendance age and over in Temes and Torontál counties the ratio of literates to illiterates (including semi-literates) was 57 illiterates for every 100 literates for men in 1890, which decreased to 29 illiterates in 1910; for women in 1890 there were 112 illiterates for every 100 literates, and in 1910 resp. - 51. Analyzing the dynamics of elementary literacy training in both counties - not only totally, but separately too - for the period between 1890 and 1910 in Table 2 we find approximately equal rates of reduction of illiteracy in women and in men, in women being a bit faster.

Table 2.
Number of illiterates (including semi-literates) for 100 literates within the Bulgarian (mother tongue) population over age 6, in Temes and Torontál counties, by sex, 1890, 1910.¹⁰

Sex	Men		Women	
County	Temes	Torontál	Temes	Torontál
1890	52	60	90	127
1910	24	32	40	60
Total for 1890	57		112	
Total for 1910	29		51	

Besides sex another prominent factor in structuring literacy is age. Although the contribution of sex to illiteracy is much sharper than age it closely interacts with the latter. We have literacy data on Banat Bulgarians correlated to age structure only for the male population of Vinga town. In Bulgarian male population of Vinga the proportion of literates in the age group of 11-15-year-olds (88%) and 16-20-year-olds (85%) was the most significant, i.e. among those who were born after the Hungarian educational reform of 1868, which introduced compulsory primary education. According to Table 3 with the advance

¹⁰ MNL OL, KSH-XXXII-23-h.

in age the proportion of literates reduced – especially in the age groups over 50, i.e. among those born in the 1830s and 1840s. Among the group of 60-year-olds and over the proportion of literates did not exceed 50%. Cohort distribution of illiterates (quite eminent in the age groups over 50) points out that illiterates were remnants of old people from periods with less educational opportunities.

Table 3.
*Literacy within male population of Vinga town,
by mother tongue Bulgarian and age groups, 1890.¹¹*

Age (born in ...)	% of literates			
Under 6 (after 1885)	0	0	3	0
6-10 (1880-1884)	73	61	89	27
11-15 (1875-1879)	88	98	92	31
16-20 (1870-1874)	85	91	90	50
21-30 (1860-1869)	79	95	83	32
31-40 (1850-1859)	80	91	97	28
41-50 (1840-1849)	76	85	95	16
51-60 (1830-1839)	59	76,5	100	18
Over 60 (before 1830)	51	87,5	94	0
Total	75,3	87	92,6	27,2

Literacy and Migration

When analyzing the problems associated with the social nature of literacy in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and its specification by sex, age and confession the question of the interaction between literacy and migration processes repeatedly have emerged. Most common conclusions on the relationship between literacy and migration confirm researchers' previous findings. Migrants are special, selected individuals, and literacy is a specific feature of theirs; usually their literacy level is better than that of people who remained in their homeland, regardless of background, age or sex.¹² Literacy influences not only the selection of immigrants, but also the distance over

¹¹ MNL OL, KSH-XXXII-23-h.

¹² Harvey J. Graff, *The Literacy Myth: Cultural Integration and Social Structure in the 19th Century*. Brunswick [New Jersey], 1991, 65; Long, L. H. Migration Differentials of Education and Occupation: Trends and Variations. *Demography* 10 (1973), 243–58.

which they have migrated.¹³ Short-distance migrants are only slightly above the level of the people they leave, while those traveling long distances, have much higher literacy.

Further we would like to find out how this interdependence works within Banat Bulgarians. In order to establish the relationship between short distance migration and the literacy level we examine the case of Banat Bulgarians in Nagybecskerek town (today Zrenjanin, Serbia), who were migrants from neighboring villages with compact Bulgarian communities. In the Bulgarian diaspora of Nagybecskerek the Banat Bulgarians predominated - in 1900 - 95%. Actually here we want to see how the literacy of a small Banat Bulgarian migrant community was developing in an urban environment. Their literacy of Bulgarian mother tongue men was 67% in 1890, 76% - in 1900 and 72% - in 1910, while female literacy was 21% (1890), 38% (1900) and 79% (1910). The lower male data from 1910 were influenced by the influx of Orthodox Bulgarians. Statistical data on male Bulgarians in Nagybecskerek meet the high levels of literacy among men in traditional Banat Bulgarian villages. Unlike Bulgarian men in Nagybecskerek according to the three censuses all Bulgarian women were Western rite Catholics. For 1890 we have the structure of literacy in Nagybecskerek by age for male population correlated to Bulgarian mother tongue (Table 4). Compared to the literacy level of the compact Bulgarian community in Vinga town it manifests itself in a different way: in Nagybecskerek illiteracy was completely eradicated in the age groups of 6-40-year olds. Statistics for men met the high levels of literacy among men in traditional Banat Bulgarian villages. Among women in Nagybecskerek, however in earlier censuses literacy was low, but in 1910 it peaked just as among women in compact Bulgarian village diaspora in Banat. Therefore, while urban milieu influenced women positively towards enhancing their literacy, for men it rather caused stagnation.

¹³ Ibid.

Table 4.
*Male Western rite Catholic literates in Nagybecskerek town
 among Bulgarian (mother tongue) population and age groups,
 in figures and %, 1890¹⁴ (compare to Vinga Table 3).*

Age (born in ...)	In figures		%	
	Literates	Illiterates	Literates	Illiterates
Under 6 (after 1885)	0	2	0	100
6-10 (1880-1884)	3	0	100	0
11-15 (1875-1879)	1	0	100	0
16-20 (1870-1874)	2	0	100	0
21-30 (1860-1869)	2	0	100	0
31-40 (1850-1859)	4	0	100	0
41-50 (1840-1849)	4	3	57	33
51-60 (1830-1839)	0	1	0	100
Over 60 (before 1840)	0	5	0	100
Total	16	13		

To illustrate the relationship between literacy level and long-distance emigration we examined Bulgarian census data (from 1900 and 1910) on Banat Bulgarians who reemigrated to Bulgaria. Banat Bulgarians' re-emigration in the 1880s and 1890s was caused partly by high birth rate for decades, as a result from which the land they were given by the Hungarian state became insufficient to ensure their livelihood, and partly by the unfortunate few consecutive agricultural years (1880–1881), when due to floods and high taxes they were forced to migrate across the country to make a living as laborers. Problems related to the livelihood of the Banat Bulgarians flared up their desire to return to the just-liberated "old homeland" hoping to find a reliable livelihood and a better life there. Subjects of our observation are the four compact villages founded by the reemigrants, namely Asenovo (Nikopol district, Pleven county), Dragimirovo (Svishtov district, Veliko Tarnovo county), Gostilya (Dolna Mitropolia district, Pleven county), Bardarski Geran (Byala Slatina district, Vratsa county) and Bregare (Dolna Mitropolia district, Pleven county), which was already inhabited by Orthodox Bulgarians and where the ethnic presence of reemigrated Banat Bulgarians was most notable. Literacy data from those censuses were published in correlation with

¹⁴ MOL, KSH-XXXII-23-h.

nationality – using the category “nationality Bulgarians (without Pomaks¹⁵)”. However, there is no data on literacy correlated to confession, which would help us to distinguish the level of literacy among Banat Bulgarians (as Catholics) from that of the other (local Orthodox) Bulgarians’. (Data on confession refer to the entire population of the settlement.) There is no data on literacy correlated to age within Bulgarian nationality.

In 1900 among the five villages’ male Bulgarians Asenovo had the greatest proportion of literacy (54%), followed by Gostilya with 52,2% and well after them – with 47,4% ranked Bardarski Geran (Table 5). These figures were much lower than the average for the Banat villages ten years earlier – in 1890. In 1900 Asenovo was almost entirely a village of Banat Bulgarians: 98% of men and 95% of women were Banat Bulgarians, which implies a minor impact of the rest Bulgarian population (Orthodoxes and Protestants) on literacy¹⁶. The majority of Banat Bulgarians in Asenovo came from Vinga and they returned to Bulgaria after 1889. Literacy rates among them in 1900 were far below the literacy in Vinga even in 1890 which had been 67,3% (Table 5). Banat Bulgarians in Gostilya originated from Star Beshenov and Ivanovo (today in Serbia), and those in Bardarski Geran came from Star Beshenov; literacy among men there was lower than that of men in Star Beshenov in 1890 (55,6%) (Table 5). Literacy rates among female Banat Bulgarians Asenovo who had returned to their homeland were highest in, where literacy rate was 38,2% versus 57,9% of literacy among female Banat Bulgarians in Vinga in 1890 (Tables 5, 6); then followed Gostilya with 24,2% and Bardarski Geran with 20,1% vs. 39,3% literacy among female Banat Bulgarians in Star Beshenov in 1890 (Tables 5, 6). It is known that Bulgarians who reemigrated in the 1880s from the region of Banat were mostly poor, landless¹⁷ and – as evidenced by the statistical information presented here – with lower levels of literacy compared to their compatriots in Banat. It means that illiterates were “selected” migrants too; they usually came from regions with literacy above average where they were at a disadvantage and were looking for ways to “get

¹⁵ Pomaks is a term used for Bulgarian-speaking Muslims who are indigenous to Southern Bulgaria.

¹⁶ Резултати от преброяването на населението в Княжество България на 31 дек. 1900 г. по общини и населени места. Кн. VII. С., 1903, 60.

¹⁷ Миятев, П. Едно движение на банатски българи за заселване в България от края на XIX в. – Известия на Научния архив, 1968, кн. IV, 46.

out”¹⁸. As it can be seen from the presented statistical information, many illiterates also traveled significant distances. In this sense, it can be said that with regard to éiteracymigration selected a special segment of the adult population. But, in their new country these immigrants represented a significant human resource with special skills.¹⁹ Banat Bulgarians brought the farming technology from Banat, which was at a higher level than the one in the post-liberation Bulgaria. They introduced the so-called “Austrian iron plow”, which was pulled by horses, and other new agricultural tools. And, as we are going to see below, even the illiterate among them quickly embraced the innovations, “absorbed” the culture of the host country.

Table 5.
*Literacy rates within the whole population of Bulgarian nationality (excluding the Pomaks) in the villages of Asenovo, Bregare, Bardarski Geran, Gostilya and Dragomirovo, by sex, in %, 1900, 1910.*²⁰

	1900		1910		Increase	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Asenovo	54,0	38,2	68,8	64,1	+14,8	+25,9
Bardarski Geran	47,4	20,1	60,5	49,9	+13,1	+29,8
Bregare	37,5	6,2	54,6	21,7	+17,1	+27,9
Dragomirovo	35,7	15,8	46,4	21,8	+10,7	+6,0
Gostilya	52,2	24,2	54,0	32,3	+1,8	+8,1

In the early 20th century literacy rate among the Bulgarians of Banat were higher than the average literacy rates in the Bulgarian villages (in men – except for Dragomirovo and Bregare villages and in women – except for Bregare) (table 4). According to the first Bulgarian official statistics in 1890, the average male literacy rate was not more than 5% and the female one was 1,5% to reach just within two decades – in 1910 in the villages the rates of 41,8%, resp. 14,9% (without excluding under school age population).²¹ But during

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Graff, H. J., Op. cit.; Long, L. H., Op. cit.

²⁰ Резултати от преброяване на населението в Царство България на 31 дек. 1900 г. по общини и населени места. С., 1903: Кн. IV (окр. Враца), 53, 56; кн. VII (окр. Плевен), 82; кн. XI (окр. Търново), 175; Резултати от преброяване на населението в Царство България на 31 дек. 1910 г. по общини и населени места. Кн. IV (окр. Враца), С., 1915, 28–29, 34–35; кн. VII (окр. Плевен), С., 1922, 40–41; кн. XI (окр. Търново), С., 1923, 102–103.

²¹ Даскалов, Р., Op. cit., 367.

the post-liberation period Bulgaria made an educational jump and school attendance became a central part of its educational system. The reemigrated community also benefited from this process. In 1910 the literacy rate of the Bulgarians in the mentioned five villages were still growing: Asenovo led in male literacy (68,8%), followed by Bardarski Geran (60,5%), Bregare (54,6%) and Gostilya (54%) (Table 4), each of which had literacy rates higher than the Bulgarian average. In female literacy grew by twice as much as they did than among men (in Gostilya the difference was even four and a half times as much). (Table 4).

Conclusion: Parallels of Literacy

Finally, we are going to outline the literacy level of Banat Bulgarians in comparison to the then educational status of the population in the Dual Monarchy. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the general trend among Banat Bulgarians showed the increase of literacy level; for women it was lower than for men.

In 1910 Banat Bulgarians were characterized by a higher level of elementary literacy than the average for Hungary (including Croatia-Slavonia) – 66,7%²². This detail can be evidenced in earlier censuses as well: among Banat Bulgarians in 1890 the average level of elementary literacy for both sexes was 58% compared with 50,6% for the lands of the Hungarian crown (i.e. including Croatia-Slavonia).²³

Regional discourse of literacy is also in favor of the Banat Bulgarians: for example, in 1910 illiteracy rate among men (23%) was lower than the national average of 30–40% for Temes county; among women it was 30% and well below the average of 40–50% for Torontál county.²⁴

²² Kovacsics J. (szerk.): *Magyarország történeti demográfiaja. Magyarország népessége a honfoglalástól 1949-ig*. Budapest 1963, 309.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Tóth I. Gy., *Op. cit.*, 230-231.

Table 7.

Proportion of literates in Hungary (including Croatia-Slavonia and the population under compulsory school attendance age) by nationality according to mother tongue and by sex, 1890.²⁵

Nationality by mother tongue	1890		
	Men	Women	Total
Banat Bulgarians	56	44	50
Croats	50	34	42
Hungarians	59	48	54
Germans	68	58	63
Romanians	11	8	14
Rutens	13	7	10
Serbs	39	22	31
Slovaks	51	37	43

In the lands of historic Hungary Banat Bulgarians lived in a multinational milieu and quantifications of the literate population (in this case incl. population below the age of compulsory education) put Banat Bulgarians in the forefront – in 1890 they were third after the Germans and Hungarians in both, men (with 56%) and women (with 44%), and in the general parameters (with 50%) among nationalities (Table 7). For Banat Bulgarians better education was a natural phenomenon, as in the second half of the 19th century they experienced their Literary Revival.

During the examined period Hungary in literacy rate lagged behind Western European countries (England, France, Germany). For example, in 1911 England had already overcome illiteracy (up to 1% in both sexes); in 1900 in France illiteracy was 5% in men and 6% in women; in 1870 in Prussia for the population over 10 years illiteracy was 10% in men and 15% in women; for the Western part of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire – Cisleithania 1900 illiteracy average for the population over the age of 10 was 21% in men and 25% in women. However, Hungary was far ahead compared to the Balkan countries, including Bulgaria. In Romania 78% were illiterate within population at compulsory education age and over in 1899, in Greece it was 61% in 1907, in Serbia in 1900 – 80%²⁶; in Bulgaria for the population over the age of 7 (literates for 100 people) illiterates were 70% in 1900 and 58% in 1910.²⁷

²⁵ Ibid., 232; MNL OL, KSH-XXXII-23-h.

²⁶ Tóth I. Gy., Op. cit., 238–246.

²⁷ Тотев, Ат. и др. Демография на България. С., 1974, 366.